1: Métraux--19 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

1. Old Chiriguano of Yumbía (Upper Pilcomayo). Note the enormous labret and the head band.

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2. Karnapadyú, "captain" of the Cararutí region near the middle course of the Parapití River. (Photo. A.M.)

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/312 cont./

In olden days numerous Paraguayans emerged into our territory near the Izozoc and they went to fight on the side of the Guarayú and Santa Cruz. From there they went on to Cochabamba. They gave battle over there, then went to Oruro. Their colonel was killed. They scattered in every direction. One of them came to Machareti where the "Capitan grande," Mandepona, was. The latter told Cipriano, who was then a young man: "Let us go to Paraguay." Mandepona had given this Paraguayan ten "soldiers." Cipriano did not want to go with them. The ten went down the Pilcomayo and arrived at a village near Paraguay. /Plate III appears here./ /313/ A soldier richly decked out with silver, with a horse whose harness was of the same metal, came to meet them to examine them. The Paraguayan they were escorting went to speak with this soldier, but the others did not hear what they were saying. While these two were talking, they saw the Toba arrive with a piece of cloth between their legs and their chests and arms painted with charcoal. The Toba asked them where they were coming from and where they were going. The Chiriguano answered: "To visit you." The Toba refused to allow them to continue on their way, although they were only one league from Paraguay. As an excuse they told them that they were in the act of making war. The Paraguayan rode behind the soldier, and the ten Chiriguano returned to Machareti.

The first part of this story seems to be a modern adaptation of Alejo García's adventure. I do not know what event could have given rise to this legend, which, had it been true, would have been very much to the taste of the Paraguayan government. As for the trip of the ten Chiriguano from Machareti, it has the appearance of being wholly authentic.

C G 175 648

The crossing of the Chaco is a less difficult undertaking for Indians than for white men. Formerly these trips from the Andes to Paraguay must have been facilitated by a greater density of the native population. It is enough to recall the relatively easy trip of Juan de Ayolas going from Paraguay to the country of the Chané and coming back without having to cope with any particular obstacles. The exploration of Alvar Núnez

[Text continues on P. 30]

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1. Mandepona, the most illustrious Chiriguano chief of the past century. His authority extended not only over the village of Macharetí, where he lived, but over vast expanses of the Chaco. (Photo. by the R. P. Honorato Catinari.)

2. Type of Chiriguano Indian from the Igüembé Valley. (Photo. A. M.)

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1: Métraux--29 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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1. Santos Airedyú, the last "capitan grande" of the still independent Chiriguano Indians. Airedyú is completely assimilated to civilization and lives like a rich Bolivian farmer. He is a man of great character. (Photo. A. M.)

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2. Group of Chiriguano in a Franciscan mission. (Photo. by the R. P. Honorato Catinari.)

Plate VI

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● [643] 1. Young Chiriguano, daughter of the "capitan grande" Karnapadyú. Her cheeks are painted with kalasapa powder.

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2. Chiriguano Indian girl from the Cariruti region, considered a beauty by the Indians. (Photo. A.M.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping. Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

/148 cont./

754 them life would be delightful and eternal here on earth where
76 God put him, as has been seen when we were dealing with the creation.

754 The same might be said of sickness. If there is something
753 the matter with a foot, the head, the stomach, or any other part of the body, they do not blame human nature, the elements, the seasons, the sudden changes of the atmosphere so common in the region, but bad sorcerers. If someone dies suddenly, if the old and the young die, if smallpox breaks out in the village, or any other epidemic, it is always blamed on the evil sorcerers (1).

[761] 1. If someone dies because he has drunk in someone else's house, they attribute it to poison administered by sorcery. Death produced by falls, suicide, or murder is not attributed to the sorcerer.

756 Some sorcerers are best for rain and for the fields, and others
622 for illness. If some contagious disease begins to spread around a
623 Chiriguano town or if in the town itself one case or another has
643 appeared, the principle cacique convokes a council of all of
571 the lower caciques; they discuss the appropriate measures to
731 be instituted in order to chase away the sickness at once. The
755 first thing they do is to call one of the well-known sorcerers. Then a commission is formed to take the entreaty to the great charlatan, and usually the one charged with this is the head cacique himself, who is accompanied by one or two of the lower caciques.

755 The sorcerer receives the cacique's invitation as a very
756 great honor, and furthermore, hearing the offers they make
554 him if he manages to drive away or expel the epidemic, there
731 is no idiot who would reject it, since the sorcerer in another town is king for the whole time that he stays there. Everything is at his disposal, men and women, goods /149/ and clothing, food and drink. He spends a better life than that of a great lord (1).

1. The one who explains the object of the

/157 cont./

Principle of Authority

000 The principle of authority is innate in humankind and to attempt to destroy it is madness. Ever since man came into the world, the principle of authority has existed, as can clearly be read in /158/ Genesis: Sub viri potestate eris et ipse dominabitur tui; thou shalt be under thy husband's power, and he shall have dominion over thee.

As it is innate in humankind, through guilt more than through necessity in the beginning, the said principle has always been in effect everywhere. There is no nation, no matter how barbarous, which does not recognize this principle as a necessity, and to attempt to destroy it, as the anarchists wish to do, is to wish for the impossible. The Tubicha, great one or authority, say the old Indians, emanates from God himself, and that is why it begins with the same letter. The illustration placed at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 214/ shows several caciques of the San Buenaventura Mission; only the one in the frock coat and cane (Anduari) did not take part in the uprising at Curuyuqui (1).

[551] 1. The Indians in the illustration are; Asicayu, Asucari, Periquiyu, and Guarerai to the right of the cacique Anduari; Chipa and Patiri, or Patricio, at the left.

648 The entire region has today been explored and is under the power of the whites, who first entered with the permission of the owner (ab immemorabili), and after having taken possession, they have made themselves owners, buying lands as 619 property of the nation. Some might believe that the Chiriguano 361 liked to live in great centers, when it is known that formerly [622] they were very numerous, but one who passes through the territory [643] will soon understand that each tribe is at most made up of some 40 families and that in each tribe there is a cacique who is dependent upon another greater one, whom they call Tubicha rubicha, great of the great. In one league of territory or even less, an explorer, or passer-by, or sojourner can still find four or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances.

/158 cont./

000 361 or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances. The only large town that I found on my travels is Membirai, which is joined to Choreti guasu on the left bank of the Parapiti. I know Caipipendi, [114 62] where I often slept; the Indians are many, but they live in different places, forming groups of 15 or 20 families (2).

797 619 361 2. The beautiful Santa Rosa Mission was formed by bringing together into a single town more than ten small tribes which voluntarily, with their caciques, moved to the place shown them by the missionary. In Yumbía there are three small tribes a very short distance apart.

Attributes of the Cacique

622 Just as in a family there is the authority of the father who governs it, or, should he be absent, that of the mother, who looks after and cares for the proper /159/ rearing of the children so that they may grow properly and not commit disorders or start fights with one another, thus also in every town or tribe there is a Tubicha, great one, whom I shall call cacique, so that my readers may understand that the Great One is a person of authority and prestige. The attributes of the cacique are multiple; when an epidemic has broken out or is about to break out in the tribe, it is he who seeks out the sorcerer to dispel it. If the tribe is suffering a drought, he goes to the master of the rain, who is another sorcerer (1).

[631 643] 1. In each tribe there is but one cacique; many caciques are under a regional cacique who can dismiss the lower ones.

[262 273] At the time of planting, while the people of the tribe sleep or rest in their homes, he goes out to the small plaza or in front of his house and, walking about, holds forth to the town, encouraging it to sow sufficient maize so that when it is ripe there

622 /159 cont./
[262] may be general rejoicing with the drinking of the pretasted
[273] Cangüi, chicha, squash and beans to eat together with Aticúi, meal, and Atipíi, parched corn. In his prolonged discourse he recommends union in labor so that it may soon be finished, since the field of the cacique is planted first and then those of the rest, with all of them helping one another. When I came to the missions, the soldiers of the cacique Güiraesa still did it in this way. I shall speak of this cacique and his family in another chapter.

622 692 The cacique also arbitrates the arguments which frequently arise in the planting season, since even among these people there reigns covetousness of the property of others, should it be good and free of brush; he settles family disputes, admonishing the parents and also their children. If a theft occurs, it is also he who makes claims before the cacique of the neighboring tribe, but if this should occur within his own, he will summarily administer justice. His sentence is absolute and in general not subject to appeal (2).

[799] 2. There are several caciques in the missions, because they are made up of several tribes. The missionary governs them all, with the result that the authority of the caciques is almost nominal.

721 It frequently happens that, as a result of some affront done to some woman of a tribe, a bloody war begins, which assumes the characteristics of a regional one. This happened during the
● [643] 1850's in the Cuevo region. The cacique Güiracoti tried without
[837] success to have relations with the wife of Yaveau, cacique of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo. In revenge the offended man disposed of a head of cattle belonging to /160/ Güiracoti; hostilities were then declared and each cacique prepared for war.

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Abuse of Authority

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The Indians who today live under the paternal rule of the missionaries state that formerly caciques committed thousands of abuses: speaking of caciques still alive, they said that they abused everything that belonged to the poor and defenseless Indians, made use of maidens and women of others took possession of horses, cows, sheep, goats, and rags or clothing of their subordinates under any pretext, and in certain cases, as absolute mandatory, life was not safe either.

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In verification of the last, I am going to relate the following: Before the reorganization of the missions of San Antonio and San Francisco del Parapiti Grande, an Indian strangled his own son and half buried him in the sand near the bank with the aim that any sizable rise would soon carry him off, but before this could happen the deed was discovered, not by betrayal by his wife, whom he had threatened to kill, but by the wheeling about of vultures which were beginning to strip the already decomposing flesh (2).

[643]

2. The murderer of his own son belonged to the upper town and was hanged in public in the lower town where the regional cacique, who was the authority of the presumed Parapiti Canton, resided.

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When the regional cacique had been advised, inquiries were undertaken in order to speak to the evil-doer, and it was not difficult to find him because he was a well-known Indian. Taken into custody and brought before the authority, he confessed his crime.

[649]

In order to prevent another greater crime the canton authority attempted to intervene, but the regional cacique made it clear to him that justice would be administered in an exemplary fashion by him and that the corregidor, whose subalterns were the whites, should not involve himself in the matter at all.

/163/

643 682 692 For these reasons the authority yielded and left it to the cacique to deal with the culprit as he deemed best, following his barbarous customs. Rather than complicate matters, the cacique had two forked sticks of medium height set up, with another piece of wood set between them. He called together all the inhabitants of both towns and in their presence in broad daylight condemned him to the gallows, and the execution was [671] immediately performed. The cacique has no written laws; he does everything by tradition and applies punishments such as the one related as a deterrent to others, to remove evil from his region, so that the life of the defenseless and the good may be respected and that he may be feared (1).

622 643 756 646 692 1. When a sorcerer does not manage to accomplish what he has promised, because he perhaps did not help him, it is the cacique's prerogative to order the death sentence and burning.

Separation from Command

622 631 643 The dismissal of a cacique is a very simple thing when the abuses he commits are unbearable. In epochs prior to the present time, the oppressed Indians were beginning to withdraw from their obedience to other peoples, and since the latter find it difficult to be able to live in strange lands, they ended up by having recourse to the regional cacique, who in turn declared them free from such obedience, naming another more humane person of the same tribe or who had resided for some time in it. 649 This has become easier today by agreement with the political 466 authority of the Republic, but there is the greater problem that 464 when an abusive cacique has been dismissed and another named 622 by the political authority, he is sure to be subject to all the 643 demands of the whites to provide them with peons, and the latter, who do not like the yoke or the caray /white man/, become impatient and emigrate.

/163 cont./

643 649 464 466 A fact that confirms what has been said happened in the Caipipendi region. The regional cacique Tengua was succeeded by his son Cariti, who, because of the grave errors that he made or was supposed to have made, was dismissed, and the native Tarûire, who apparently at least had very good qualities, was named in his place. This latter, selected by the whites with the consent or nomination of the Indians, had to return the favor of his benefactors who had elevated him and consequently to respond to all the demands and requests for peons, and one time the poor Indians had to go to Santa Cruz as a guarantee for the /164/ unhappy Indians who feared that, under the pretext of jobs in the city, they would be taken to the Beni (1).

[566]

1. In El Beni men are sold for 1,000 Bs. and women at a lesser price. Baron D. Erland Nordenskiold gave a lecture in London proving that slavery exists in Bolivia and Peru.

This concern of Tarûire and suspicion of the Indians originated in a publicly known event which took place in the year 1905, when a party of Indians sold to the rubber plantations were taken from there; rumors of this event spread rapidly through all the newspapers of the Republic, which expressed disapproval of it, and at that time I saw whole groups of families who, with all of their possessions, emigrated to other lands.

643 641 554 The result of this is that today many Indians obey Tarûire, not out of love or loyalty, but out of fear of the harsh punishment which the political authorities would immediately impose on them; and the cacique is now beginning to tire of this task which is so odious for him, for he wants to be tranquil in his home and to enjoy peace. He has repeatedly said this to me and he would be satisfied if they would renominate Cariti, for whom the Indians hold proper respect.

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622 643 648 566 46 Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the cacique of a large number of Indians, like Tarüire, derives great benefits from his office. While the annoyances are continuous, the income is regular, because generally the caray who makes a request for peons always gives their daily pay to the cacique and alcaldes, and if the former visits them in their houses, they save certain considerations for him in the interest of obtaining peons in the future; interest can do much (2).

2. They keep everything they receive from the whites to buy liquor and little for their clothing.

62 595 It would be a very rare case if a Chiriguano cacique did not have issue, it being known that each one lives with several women, privately and publicly, in his own and other tribes, and this is not only the privilege of the caciques; even the subalterns are polygamous. They often marry a widow in order later also to be with the stepdaughter with the knowledge of her mother, who consents to it through fear, out of concern for food, or for a miserable garment (3).

[799] 3. The vice of polygamy is being pursued in the missions, not only among the Indians but even among the caciques; some admonition should come first, however, to convince them and make them understand the ugliness of the vice.

622 [555] [556] /165/ Upon the death of the cacique of a tribe, the oldest son then succeeds, but, if in fact he dies without issue, the closest relative takes command, or, lacking one of these, some prestigious brother-in-law, if he is liked by the tribe; otherwise someone in the town who combines the best qualities in his person is chosen, and if an Indian enjoys some good fortune in cattle, sheep, horses, etc., he is the chosen one, who is respected and obeyed because of the goods that he has at his disposal for guests and even for treating his subalterns (1).

[661] 1. When a cacique is completely poor, he

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621 may be considered the scourge of the tribe, and, as an absolute ruler, he takes from the belongings of his soldiers whatever he wants for himself and for the guests who visit him.

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562 Very rarely does a woman take command and control of the tribe: this can happen if the cacique who dies leaves only women as heirs, but only with great difficulty does the Chiriguano allow himself to be ruled by a woman: the other tribes would laugh at them and would treat them like women: Salic law is in force among the Chiriguano (2).

2. Nevertheless, there are cases when the law of the Salians has been suspended among the Chiriguano. The woman Iguandúsai governed in Ivu, Paraputi in Aquío, and a certain Arabúsai is mentioned by del Campano.

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The Regional Cacique

In addition to the cacique, whom the people of a tribe distinguish with the name of Mburubicha, great one, there is another, higher authority whom they call Tubicha rubicha, great one of the great ones, or cacique of the caciques. The great cacique resides in a larger tribe and leads it directly like the other caciques, having alcaldes and counselors.

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622 The great cacique intervenes and is consulted with regard to the succession of the subaltern caciques; for this reason the sons of the latter always accompany their fathers on the visits they make and try to get the great cacique to like them, in order to succeed their fathers in power, but if the tribe does not want him and furthermore his faults are so notorious and serious as to eliminate him from the honor, the regional cacique very tactfully makes him understand this, adding that by reforming his life he could be chosen again on a day not far off.

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643 [781] In the case of a regional war against another region, the great cacique calls a parliament and consults all the caciques. /166/ counselors, and sorcerers in order to arrange matters perfectly and avoid surprises. When the war has broken out, as he is the most important man, he takes charge of the battles, even leading them personally to a successful conclusion, and, should a defeat be suffered, he does not cringe in defeat, but prepares anew, encourages his soldiers to fight more vigorously to take revenge, and is unlikely to suffer another defeat. This is what happened in the regional war of the great cacique Gilisacoti against Taveau, in which, the latter having been defeated by the former, as I have already related, he retired to the slopes of Iberita and from there marched on his enemies, causing numerous casualties and obtaining a complete victory (1).

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[748]

1. In the Curuyuqui War there was a cacique named Chaparilla and another named Tunga, but, as this war was against the whites, Tunga took charge of the military operations.

643 631 Chituri, a regional cacique, was succeeded by his son, the late Azari, in the entire region of the Parapiti Grande, Itatiqui, Tacuaranti, and Ururigua. Taveau was obeyed by all the Indians of Ityoru, Curuyuqui, Ivo, Igllipinta, and those of Santa Rosa, living on the right bank of the Cuevo River; subject to Gilisacoti were all those living on the left bank of the same river as far as the right bank of the Parapiti; the subjects of the late Tengua were the Indians of the left bank of the same Parapiti up to Gutierrez; the subalterns of Machirope were, as was told me in the same year 1901, all the Indians of Ingre Canton, Iglembe, and Huacaya from the right bank of the Parapiti to the left bank of the Pilcomayo, which includes an area of 24 leagues from north to south and 15 east to west, and when an effort was made to found a mission in Yumbía, on the left bank of the Pilcomayo, Iglembe Canton, he insisted to me that we should not bother them any more because neither he nor the

4: Nino--228 M-3 (1898-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/166 cont./
643 [631] Indians wanted it (2).

2. The regional cacique Tengua died in 1900, Machirope in 1905, and the others who have been named in the middle of the nineteenth century, except Chituri. Baringai of Igüembe is considered a regional cacique without being one: he is the oldest known Indian, at least among the caciques.

Today only one of the former regional caciques is still living. This is Mandepónai, who must be about 84 years old, a very robust and obese Indian with a constitution of iron. His authority extends throughout the Gran Chaco. He is respected and obeyed up to a certain point by the Toba, Mataco, and Choroti, and other known races; he is very well received in the other regions through which he passes, and his authority is not contradicted elsewhere, but is not respected either, /167/ because at the present time the Chiriguano element too has almost radically changed its political systems; today it is the political authority which rules, and the cacique is a humble servant of any caray who comes to him asking for peons.

643 The Machareti Mission exists through his efforts, and he has 799 always been faithful to the missionaries. In the Curuyuqui 643 War, the Tumpa tried to get Mandepónai to use his influence to 663 make the Toba and Chiriguano of his region revolt, as Tengua 661 did, but the great cacique was not to be moved: instead he and 662 his people went over to the side of the Santa Rosa Mision and the white Christians who had taken refuge in it.

At that time some whites, perhaps because of their hate for the missionaries of Machareti, tried to implicate Mandepónai as an accomplice of the Tumpa, but this calumny was belied by his praiseworthy procedure. He gave warning of the day on which the rebels were to burn the mission, went personally with his soldiers to Santa Rosa on January 27, before the final battle, and there confronted Tengua, accusing him of treason to the whites. His loyalty to the missionaries is to his glory.

/167 cont./

643 and when he addresses his people he does not fail to remind them
648 that if they enjoy peace they owe it to him, for he consented
669 to the founding of their mission; more or less the same thing
797 is said by other caciques or their successors, through whose in-
662 fluence the missions have been founded (1).

1. When the slander against Mandepónai was believed, the delegate Chavarría went to Machareti with all his forces to punish the cacique, but nothing came of it because it all turned out to be false.

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Chapter Six

Towns, Houses, and Work

Introduction

The glacial period and horrible icy places with their new flora and fauna in the dawn of the Quaternary era, a mysterious period for certain modern unbelievers, holds no mystery whatsoever for true believers, who see in it, or in its sudden appearance, a punishment for the disobedience of the first man. Adam sins, and the land, until then so beautiful and fecund, is covered with snows and ice, with brambles and briars; before his sin, no shelter was needed, but, as a result of rebellion against the Creator, he was laden with needs. /The remainder of the introduction on pp. 168-169 is omitted. The following illustration appears opposite p. 169. The remainder of p. 169 follows./

797 /208 cont./ Let the reader consider that the work of the missionary, who strives for and dedicates himself to the reduction of the Indian, would not amount to much if he could make light of immorality, a sin which God anciently punished with two floods, one of water and one of fire, thus manifesting His just indignation with these words: Non permanebit spiritus meus in homine, quia caro est.

595 With these inclinations not at all restrained, but instead fomented with the five physical senses and all the faculties of the soul, it is not strange that there should exist among the Chiriguano a tendency to very frequent bigamy and polygamy as a luxury or a sign of greatness. /204/ If not all have many wives, it is either because it is not easy to support them or because they are not easily found, because every woman would like to be the only mistress in her house (1).

1. In the house of a polygamist or bigamist, the one who gives orders and is in charge as mistress and manager is the oldest, as long as she anticipates her husband's thinking: since, as she knows his irremediable incontinence, in order not to lose her authority in the house, she advises a second and third marriage, etc., and then the master of all of these women imposes the respect due the oldest woman.

● [643] Almost all regional caciques are polygamists, and they have a woman in almost every town of their dependency, without counting the eight or twelve that they have in the town where they live. Caciques can do this because they have 595 authority, although they do not give them anything. Formerly 178 polygamy was much more extensive. It is not so now because [797] the race has been much reduced, and there has penetrated everywhere, if not the missionary, the Christian, who at times is a reproach for the lasciviousness of the carnal Ava.

/204 cont./

643 648 797 Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live as they would like very much, but in matters referring to morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

595 574 829 643 The important men assert that to possess many wives is necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or relatives and always have his favorite drink; no matter how much of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or for his guests.

595 622 [582] The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they do not become such in their youth, when they are like hummingbirds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of their home /illustration appears here/ /205/ where they have lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then left behind because the man moves to the second wife's house (1).

[162] [167] 1. Formerly, women were abundant because of wars. Today they are abundant because of the emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]

/273 cont./

721 I am not going to consider the Chiriguano at war with the Incas or with the Spaniards or with the whites who occupy the region. I am going to consider him at war with his own kind, or with the inhabitants of /274/ other towns which border his. Sensitive to the extreme, the Indian will fight on any pretext, however minor it may be considered, such as the abduction of a woman, her attempted violation, cattle stealing, or any other offense; they are enough to make the pride of the native scheme for vengeance and carry it out without any loss of time.

721 173 643 [727] Among the Indians of Ivu there is still kept alive the memory of the four or five wars which the regional cacique Yaveáu of Cuevo and its vicinity waged against Yuti, where among the women killed was the wife of the Indian Cairama, who still lives in the Santa Rosa Mission; against Choreti, where, while retreating, he killed several whites; against Itau and Carapari, from where he brought a small cannon as booty; and against Parapiti, where he was defeated, leaving some 200 victims on the battlefield on the left bank of the river. It has already been seen in the preceding pages that the cause which brought about this prolonged and bloody war was the attempt of the cacique Güiracoti with regard to Yaveáu's wife, which he avenged to excess (1).

1. The cacique Yaveáu waged a war of extermination against all the towns noted, because they all fought on Güiracoti's side, but he could do nothing against Chituri, the cacique of Parapiti.

721 411 My readers, having thus understood that the Chiriguano is very warlike, must be convinced of another truth, that is, that they are prepared to take up arms on any occasion, from which it can be deduced also that it is a fact that in every house they had available as many bows as there were persons fit for war, in addition to having ready as many dozens of arrows, because it was a law that in war each warrior had to carry at least a dozen.

/274 cont./

Offensive War and Weapons

643 701 705 When a tribe was preparing to attack another, if it foresaw that it would last longer than usual, and the cacique judged that more preparations were required, in his position as supreme chief or captain general he would commission subalterns called Queremba, experts, to inspect all the armament available, and if the report of these chiefs was not satisfactory, a general order was given to make up and repair all the deficiencies as quickly as possible.

411 824 [283] The bows and arrows were made in the public plaza or outside each house; the wood which was to serve for bows was different from that for arrows. War bows measured /275/ a meter and a half more or less, and to shoot one they used a twisted cord made of pygmy-deer hide, which was both light and strong. The wood that they use even today for hunting bows is called Igũirapitiragua.

The arrows are made of different kinds of wood, but the most common are Ovei, guayancansillo /a kind of guaicum/, Yaguasíi, tola, and Igũirane, smelly wood. This last is very poisonous, and the tribe that uses it must be a very bad enemy of his opponent, because whoever is wounded with these arrows will recover only with difficulty, and the wound is a continual suppuration of illness, which slowly consumes him, almost without any hope of his being able to be helped and to enjoy life once more with his companions.

Every arrow ends in a point, and on both sides it has its edges the opposite way so that when it enters the flesh it is difficult to remove, and one who does not know how to remove it can produce a greater wound than the one the arrow made when it entered. [283] [239] The arrow is inserted into a little piece of hollow cane, one meter long, where it is securely attached with string made of toborochi bark, and the string is covered with a little bit of wax (1).

1. At the end of the cane, with the same string and wax, many attach a feather of a falcon or of a carcancho, not for decoration, but so that the shot may be more accurate. The feathers of these birds are more resistant than others.

/276 cont./

March and Inspection

726 Finally they take leave of their families, telling them to be very careful not to go far from the town. The cacique gives his [729] instructions to the men who stay behind on guard; the women once more tell their husbands to fight like brave men and to bring back the heads of their enemies in order to drink chicha from their skulls, and then, in perfect order, the march of the army toward 701 the place of combat begins. They say that the cacique does not • 643 carry arms and that his presence only serves for giving orders that they promptly execute without losing any time (1).

1. If the cacique were seen to be attacked or surrounded by the enemy, his soldiers, especially the cavalry, would come quickly and boldly to his defense.

726 The combat is never begun by day or late at night, but in the early morning. For this reason, before the soldiers depart, they calculate the distance and the time that it may take to cover it. In order not to be seen or heard, they go through the woods, if there are any, and try to arrive at night at a certain distance from the enemy town. They make their camp at a distance of four or five cuadras and wait for the dawn, in order to be able to enjoy their triumph, the pillaging and other ensuing things, by the light of day, or to be able to beat an orderly retreat in case of defeat (2).

2. Nobody in the town discovers the proximity of the enemy, because the Indians do not go out of their town after midnight, and the invading horsemen with their horses stay at a suitable distance so that the horses will not give them away with their neighing.

/281 cont./

726
648 helping them in the town and against the missionary who had brought them.

Peace

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728 Every time a war between Chiriguanos ends, those who got the worst of it are the first to resume friendly relations. They do it little by little, and the women are most useful for this, the same ones who, with their tongues, contributed not inconsiderably to promoting hostilities. The conquerers readily accept the overtures of peace and immediately resume visits again, during which, if the conversation touches on the last war, the conquered avoid it, that is, they excuse the deceit suffered through some trick, but from time to time they must silently endure the reproaches of one or another bold woman, who are not lacking in the towns (3).

3. A certain young girl, a student in the Santa Rosa Mission, reproached the captain at Ivu, who was asking for a mission in his town after having tried to kill the missionary. But I have already said that this war was directly against the whites.

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723
643 When a war is regional because several tribes take part in it under the command of a single cacique, as happened in Yaveau's war /282/ against Gũiracoti, both regions try to have an equal number of foot soldiers, cavalry, and queremba; otherwise it would be very hard for the weaker side to enter the combat. Gũiracoti came to battle aided by the whites and men from Parapiti, but, when he saw that he had fewer people, he fled from Yaveáu, who pursued him with all his men (1).

[704]

1. The cacique Yaveáu in his first defeat recovered and suitably prepared for a general and decisive charge on the slopes of the range of Irenta, located one league from the Santa Rosa Mission.

/282 cont./

727 728 643 When a regional campaign has ended, the caciques involved, with the intervention of others who did not take part in the struggle, try to re-establish peace, because although the Chiriguano is rather warlike and proud, he is also just as peaceful and desirous of living quietly in his home. Hence it is quite easy for peace to be accepted by both parties, and it is sealed with a general fiesta, first in the town of the defeated cacique and then in that of the victorious cacique. All the great and important people of both regions and of the regions which have taken part in the friendly arrangements come together at these fiestas, and even then they do not turn to talk of the stormy time, except to anathematize the one who, according to them, was to blame for so much anguish; little importance is given to the words of the women (2).

[648]

2. As the Curuyuqui war was against the whites and since the latter triumphed and pursued them to the death, there could not be any party afterward, but in time friendly relations were renewed between the Indians of Ivu and Santa Rosa, and to this day they continue in perfect harmony, because they live with the help of the missionary whom the Ivu people had asked for previously.

Then each regional cacique enjoins his men not to disturb public peace again, and these in turn make speeches to their subalterns at night about the advantages of peace, and both caciques shake hands, promising to decide matters in a friendly fashion in any future disagreement which might arise between the two regions, but sometimes the opposite happens, because the victor finds it hard to yield, considers himself superior, and does not know that negotiations are preferable.

727 728 Finally, each one returns to his town satisfied, the repair of the destroyed houses is ordered immediately; the time of general planting comes, and they all report to work peacefully in order to have abundance once again and with their hopes based on being able to enjoy in time the fruit of the little sweat that falls, to their own advantage and that of their family.

/159 cont./
In the village of Cuevo alone 60 out of 200 persons died within a short time. I visited the 140. They were as gay as ever. Spirits and beer were consumed in quantities.

Father Bernardino was never given credit for this work, but rather the medicine men, who had bewitched the sickness so that it would not come to Ivu. The white colonists, too, occasionally had the medicine men come in order to /Fig. 78 appears here/ drive away the sickness. They did not believe in the vaccine either.

With Ivu as the starting point, I made a trip into the

Fig. 77. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/6.

Igüembe valley, in order to visit the Chiriguano chief Maringay. It was a charming ride on horseback up on the high crests and down into deep valleys, through an often grandiose, colorful landscape. These valleys are poor in forests. Only in a well-protected ravine in which a brook trickles forth is the vegetation luxuriant.

I soon became very good friends with old Maringay. The old man was conservative, clung to the old customs, and felt that the Indians should be on good terms with the whites, but should preserve their old habits and customs unchanged. His village was extraordinarily interesting and very rich in old, fine things.

/212 cont./

Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy, I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not permitted among either the Choroti or the Mataco.

Among the Chané and Chiriguano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older ones, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig. 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

/214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chiriguano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Choroti. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girl was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1735 (1), at a time when they were still

1. Chomé, op. cit., p. 318.

/214 cont./

577 831 175 entirely untouched by the civilization of the whites, an opinion which I shall reproduce here verbatim:

"Ce qui m'a fort surpris, c'est que dans la licence où ils vivent, je n'ai jamais remarqué qu'il échappat à aucun homme la moindre action indécente à l'egard des femmes, et jamais je n'ai oui sortir de leur bouche aucune parole tant soit peu déshonnête

● 643 291 415 142 352 516

Fig. 111. The Chiriguano chief Mandepora.

577 831 175 /What surprised me very much is that in the freedom in which they live I never noticed the slightest indecent behavior on the part of any man with regard to women, and never did I hear from their lips any word that was the least bit immodest/."

Ee 831 /227 cont./

The Indians regard the natural aspect of sexual life very differently from the way we view it as a rule. We do not find among these people all the corruption which is in civilized Ee 838 society, but various things are to be found here already. As far as homosexuality in particular is concerned, conditions among primitive peoples, as is known, show that the cause of the evil lies much deeper than in our hypercivilization.

/228/

Chapter Fourteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Chiefs and Laws

Ee 622 643 [111]

The chiefs have an entirely different position among the Chané and Chiriguano than among the Ashluslay and Choroti. They have considerable power. Among the chiefs there are the great chiefs, who rule over several villages, and the village chiefs, who have command over only one village or a part of one. Ee 643 Among the great chiefs whom I met, the noteworthy ones are the old woman Vuáyruyi, the chief over the Chané villages on the Rio Itiyuro, Taruiri, who rules over most of the Caipipendi valley, Mandepora (Fig. 111), who in former times had considerable power in and around Machareti, and Maringay in the Ee Iguembe valley.

622 293 643 [301] [302]

Nowadays the chiefs have no symbol of their office other than silver-mounted sticks. According to Corrado, they formerly wore a large tuft of hair on the head, "yattira," as well as green stones which hung at their ears. At the festivals and dances they had the right to use the "yandugua," a rod decorated with a bunch of ostrich feathers, and "iguirape," a staff carved with peculiar figures. Of these I was able to acquire only a yandugua. I did not even see the E Ca rest.

622 555 643

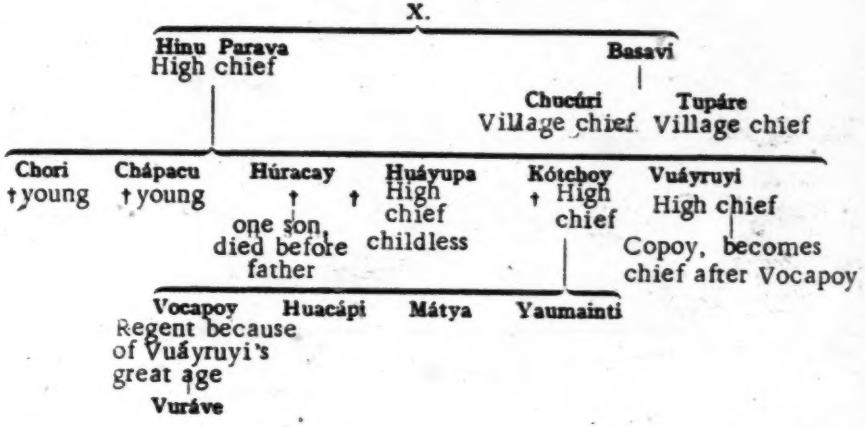
The office of chief seems to be hereditary as a rule. Capability and the art of using words well are required, however.

Ce 622 [73 643

/229/

Vocapoy gave me his family tree, which I reproduce here because it is very instructive, and I venture to believe that it may interest the reader to study an Indian family tree.

Vocapoy's Family Tree



Ce 643

Thus we find that the real chief on the Rio Itiyuro is a woman. I visited old Vuáyruyi. She received me with great dignity, lying in her hammock. Since the woman is old and weak, Vocapoy governs and tries, as best he can, to protect his people against the whites, who have completely appropriated their land. I asked Vocapoy why Vuáyruyi, as a woman, became chief. "Her father, Hinu Parawa, taught her to speak," said Vocapoy. Thus, these Indians regard it as most important to have command of the language in order to rule. These people are able to value intelligence more than strength. No one becomes chief who is not an older man. The husband of Vuáyruyi was not a chief, but only "prince consort." The village chiefs also belong to the family /Geschlechte/ of Hinu Parava.

Ce [622]

C ● 643

Taruiri, too, is not the actual chief, but is substituting for a younger relative, who, as a result of his /230/ constant drunkenness, is regarded as unfit. Taruiri rules in the Caipipendi valley, where his territory is still free, but will probably soon be usurped by the whites. In Ivu there is a Chiriguano chief who is also a medicine man. This is the only example of theocracy that I found.

C [756]

Ee 622 643 554

/230 cont./

The chiefs' families form a sort of aristocracy among the Chiriguano and Chané. Several times I heard Indians boast about their good family connections. A Chiriguano who accompanied me for some time as an interpreter was eager to impress upon me that he was related to the most famous high chiefs.

Just as the author of this book is customarily introduced as the son of Adolf Nordenskiöld, so the Indians were wont to introduce in similar fashion the sons of their "great men."

I even discovered a bit of deception in connection with the family tree. A Chané claimed direct descent from the great Hinu Parava, which, however, is said to be untrue.

If one wishes to find beautiful things from olden times among these Indians, one must first look for them in the chiefs' families. They keep the old treasures.

Ee [177]

More and more the white authorities are beginning to appoint the chiefs. Thus, in one region one can find a chief supported by the whites and a legitimate one.

Ee 622 423 122 643

The chiefs have great power, and, as far as I could see, they are always obeyed, in contrast to conditions among the Choroti and Ashluslay. They own the land (at least in certain regions), not for themselves, but for the tribe. If one needs porters in a Chané or Chiriguano village, one gets them from the chief, and no Indian will refuse to carry out the orders of the chief.

Ce 622 643

Although the chief has such great influence, /231/ he nevertheless works in the same way as the other Indians. Vocapoy himself, for example, carried home the heavy wood for cooking the maize beer, and his wife had to cook and sweep, like the other women. Following the example of the whites, however, a few of the most civilized and wealthy Indians, such as Taco, now have servants from their own tribe, but this was not done originally. On the other hand, as I have mentioned elsewhere, it is not unusual for the Mataco-Vejos and the Tapiete to work for the Chiriguano and Chané.

Ee [359] [177]

Ee 177 464

Ce 622 643 431 123

When we came home to Vocapoy's village from hunting and shared our booty with the chief /Fig. 115 appears here/, his wife accepted everything, but then went around to the houses and gave her neighbors everything that she had received.

Ee 165 556 621

/231 cont./

One cannot speak here of rich and poor in the same village, though there is the beginning of a nobility. On the other hand, there are rich and poor villages. There are relatively wealthy individual Indians, but they, like Taco, live like the whites.

Ee 622 701 672 643 Ce 682

The chief is the judge and in former times was the leader of the fighting men.

Vocapoy told me murder was punished by sentencing the murderer to work up to half a year for the family of the one slain. A thief gets up to 50 lashes and is sent to another village so that he will not be killed. According to Vocapoy, it is the duty of the chief to prevent blood revenge by sending away the offenders so that they will not be murdered. The murder of father, mother, or child is, according to his assertions, unknown in his region.

Ce 692 643 681

C 531 415 Ce 682

According to Batirayu, whose statements are more reliable than those of /232/ Vocapoy, the high chief of the Chané on the Rio Parapiti deals with no offenses other than murder, seduction of another woman, and bewitchment. Murder with poisoned chicha, "bád-dyási," occurred in former times among the Chané. Murderer and bewitcher were burned. The seducer of a woman was deprived of all his possessions. For the rest, theft and other offenses were settled by means of duels. If a person stole something, the injured one and the thief called their relatives together, and they fought on the open plaza in the village.

Fig. 115. Calabash. Chiriguano. Itapenbia. 1/6.

Ce 684 Ce 685 681

Ee 177 Ce 643 625 724

The administrative authorities of the whites are now intervening more and more in the legal affairs of the Indians.

In war with other tribes the chief gives the orders, as they did in the uprisings of the Indians against the whites.

Ce 423 622 643

According to Vocapoy, the chief owns the land for the tribe. Batirayu said the land rights are arranged so that everyone plants what he wishes. Land that has been cultivated has its owner, even if it has lain fallow for years.

/82 cont./

Ee 53! Figure 33b, which corresponds, as does also the form of this flute, completely to ancient Peruvian models. Also, the surface of the Chiriguano cane flute I. A. 494 (cf. Fig. 34a /see p. 89/) shows some incisings.

One of the tattooed decorations is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld, who found it on a woman's arm (310).

310. Nord. 1, Fig. 108.

Social Conditions among the Chiriguano and Chané

C Ca 114 With regard to the social conditions among the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I am unable to add to the few data which we knew on this subject because the situations in which I found myself when with these Indians were not appropriate for such investigations.

Ce 115 122 126 /83/ Among the Izozó whom I found in Toledo there were some who were designated as cacique. To one of these, who spoke Spanish perfectly, I owe the vocabulary of the Izozó language which I wrote down. I met the Chiriguano only in

C 114 197 622 Machareti, where they had lived for a long time under the supervision of the missionaries and, at the time of my trip, under the chieftainship of one of their own fellows who exercised the functions of a commissioner /comisario/. Two other Chiriguano Indians whom I met in Machareti were identified as caciques.

Ee 129 In order to complete my statements about the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I must make a resumé of what we know from the literature regarding the social conditions of those Indians, referring to Moreno's statements, which are based on old documents, as well as those of v. Nordenskiöld, which are based upon his own investigations.

Ee 178 643 243 Naturally, many of the old Chiriguano and Chané social institutions have been lost since they lost their independence from the whites. Also, the power of the great caciques has diminished appreciably since they have been dependent on the whites. When Nordenskiöld

Ce 178 643 [114] [648]

/83 cont./ when Nordenskiöld made his expedition, there was no longer a great cacique among the Chané on the Parapití River. The last great cacique had been Aringui, whose nephew, Batiraya, was a cacique, but he had refused the position of great cacique because he did not want to be too dependent on the whites (311).

311. Nord. 1, pp. 170 and 233.

C 631 [642]

According to what is said in older documents, the Chiriguano, after their immigration into the Cordillera, did not form a uniform community, a state, in the proper sense of public law. Formerly they had formed a federation of several parcialidades /subdivisions/. In the letter of Licenciado Cepeda (312) in the

C [131] [175]

312. Letter from Licenciado Cepeda giving an account of the war against the Chiriguano under the encomienda of Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa, Governor of Santa Cruz, and under the Maestre de Campo, Fernando de Cazorra, through Tomina, and under Luis de Fuentes through Tarija. According to Moreno II, p. 113.

year 1585, it is said "that the Province of the Chiriguano, who are in the Cordillera between Santa Cruz and the city of La Plata, who are divided into three parcialidades, each distinct from the others, 25 leagues, although they communicate and help one another. One is the parcialidad of Vitupué, another that of Condorillo, and the other of Chiquiacá."

C 631 ●643

Of the two parcialidades Vitupué and Chiquiacá we know that they, at least originally, were each under the chieftainship of a great cacique, from whom they received their respective names. Vitupuera was the great cacique of the former and Chiaca the great cacique of the latter (313). With regard to the parcialidad

313. Moreno II, pp. 122 and 126.

631 /83 cont./
[643] of Condorillo, we do not have any evidence as to whether this whole parcialidad was under the chieftainship of a great cacique. We only know that the town of Saigpuru was one of the most important and that it was the most feared by its enemies and that its inhabitants were defeated in the year 1779 by Don Tomás Leso (? 4).
[195 027 632]

314. Moreno II, p. 344.

631 According to the reports written by the Governor of Santa Cruz,
632 Don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, the Province of "Yvytupue," that
643 is, the region governed by the great cacique Vitupuera, was made
103 up of five large subdivisions. As can be assumed from the report cited, these subdivisions were in part made up of one town and in part of several towns and were, with the exception of one, governed by several caciques. Thus there is mentioned in the first place the subdivision "Taquirán and Caracará," probably meaning the towns which bear these names. As the caciques of this first subdivision, three are mentioned; thus the number of caciques does not correspond to the number of towns. Thus, we are not here dealing with a community which was established exclusively on a territorial basis. /84/ For the second subdivision three names are mentioned, Aguapea, Naipea, and Traibi. Thus it was probably made up of three towns. In this subdivision the number of towns, three, corresponds to the number of caciques. The third subdivision is called Tamboré. Thus it can be presumed that it consisted of but one town, and there is also mentioned but one cacique. The fourth subdivision is called Tendy, and three caciques of it are mentioned. It is stated that one of these caciques, called Abequé, was the son of the cacique Tendy, thus of that cacique who gave his name to that subdivision. Of the fifth subdivision, Ayaguá or Cayaguá, as many as four caciques are mentioned (?15).

315. Moreno II, pp. 193 and 194.

R Schmidt--219 E-5 (.935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

/84 cont./

631 Also for the parcialidad of Chiquiacá besides its great cacique,
•[643] Chiquiacá or Chiacá, 14 other caciques are mentioned, but it cannot be determined from these statements whether these are the names of successive caciques or of contemporaneous ones.

C 195 We have interesting data from the 16th century on the way in
648 which the individual Chiriguano communities distributed among
631 themselves the different countries in which they were making their depredations. In the "Confesión de Blas Negro," it is said "that to those of the province of cayguru fell the part of tomina, and those of coyagua to the churumatas, and those of tendi as far as misque and tiraque, and those of aguapex up to this road from poxo and santa cruz" (316).

316. Moreno II, p. 129.

C 195 In the historical sketch placed at the beginning of this work, I
Ca 648 have already mentioned that the Chané, and also other tribes as well, were subjugated by the Chiriguano and incorporated as subjects into their communities. The Chané communities which
C [928] had originally been in Chiriguano territory or its environs had
[648] been exterminated, until at the end of the 19th century, when the Chiriguano lost their independence because of the whites, the Chané were emancipated from their oppressors and once more inhabited their separate towns governed by their own great caciques.

Ca 175 We have an interesting item in the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez
643 Cabeza de Vaca" through which we know that the Chané in times past, before being subjugated by the Chiriguano, had a strong social organization and powerful great caciques. In Puerto de Reyes, Alvar Nuñez met a Chané cacique who had previously accompanied García on his return from Peru and later, after the murder of García by the Guaraní, had fled from them. Among other things this cacique declared "that in his land those of his race have a single headman who orders all and who is obeyed by all, and that there are many towns of many peoples of those of
ODD his race" (317). The subjugated Chané were distributed among

317. Moreno II, p. 30.

R Schmidt--222 E-6 (1905) 1908 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

/85 cont./

C 631 643 [622] C [179] C CS 643 631 CS 643 [562]

According to all that we learn from the old documents, the Chiriguano communities, that is, the parcialidades under the chieftainship of great caciques and the subdivisions under the chieftainship of ordinary caciques, had a very firm organization in comparison with other tribes of South American Indians. The great cacique commands his subjects and they obey him absolutely. It is likely that in this regard the example of the absolute rule of the neighboring Incas of Peru influenced the organization of the Chiriguano. Even at the time of Erland v. Nordenskiöld's trip in 1908, the Chiriguano and Chané caciques were very powerful in contrast with the caciques of the neighboring tribes of the Chaco. Even at that time there were great caciques, who governed a large territory made up of several towns, and ordinary caciques, who governed the inhabitants of a town or part of them. Thus, at the time of Nordenskiöld's trip most of the towns of the Caipipendi valley were governed by a great cacique named Tarvicí. The great cacique Mandepora formerly had considerable power in and near Machareti, and the great cacique Maringay in the Iguembe valley. We have Nordenskiöld's interesting statement that women too can be great caciques among the Chané. Thus the great cacique of the Chané towns on the Itiyuro was a woman named Vuáyruyi, who had succeeded her late brother in that office. Because she was already old, she was replaced in her duties by her nephew Vucapoy, who was the eldest son of her brother and predecessor. /86/ Her son was favored as great cacique after Vucapoy (226). Among the Chané on the Itiyuro, and

226. Nord. 1, pp. 223 and 229.

formerly among the Chané of the Parapitî when they still had a great cacique, the office of great cacique was tied to a certain family, but it did not pass from father to son. Nordenskiöld recorded the genealogical tree of the family of the caciques of the Chané on the Itiyuro, according to which, after the great cacique Hino Parava, two of the latter's sons successively succeeded to this office. After the death of the last of these, Hino Parava's daughter, the above-mentioned Vuáyruyi, was great cacique, while the son

/86 cont./

CC 643 of her late brother and predecessor, as already mentioned, took her place in her duties. The one predestined for the office of cacique cannot begin his functions if he does not have ability and skill in discussion. The great cacique in the Caipipendi valley was considered incapable because of continual drunkenness, and he was replaced in his functions by one of his relatives (327). In

327. Nord. 1, p. 230.

the Chané towns on the Itiyuru the ordinary caciques too belong to Hinu Pacava's family (328).

328. Nord. 1, pp. 170 and 129.

CC CC 643 301 302 293 As a symbol of chieftainship Nordenskiöld observed staffs decorated with silver and the so-called "Yandagua," which consists of a long rod adorned with a tuft of ostrich feathers and is carried by caciques at fiestas and dances. According to Corrado, the caciques formerly wore as a symbol of their office a large lock of hair on top of the head, which they called "yattira," and green stones as pendants in the ear lobes, and at the fiestas, in addition to the "yandagua" mentioned above, the "iguiripe," which was a staff carved with figures (329).

329. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 756 643 622 At the side of the caciques a special position is held by the sorcerers, among whom the Chiriguano distinguish two kinds, the "ipáve," who are good and who can undo spells, and the "ipáyepóchi," who can undo spells, but who also cast them. The sorcerer is also above all the doctor who has the obligation of curing the sick (330). In general the occupation of sorcerer

330. Nord. 1, p. 216.

from that of cacique. Only in Ivu did Nordenskiöld observe a case where a Chiriguano cacique was a sorcerer at the same time (331).

331. Nord. 1, p. 230.

/86 cont./

C 178 565 648 Ce [178] [648] [643] The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

C 565 554 643 511 433 any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such C 184 433 432 178 a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take [643] [461] [476] [464] part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 462 Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of C [562] labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting

C
Ce 882 848 /88 cont./ rarely born (344). Marriages are made among the Chané by a

Ce 583 584

344. Nord. 1, p. 207.

method whereby the young man who wishes to marry sends several pieces of game to the girl's parents. He puts firewood in front of her house, and, if it is used, this signifies consent. But only after having worked for one year for his future mother-in-law can he marry the girl. The night before the wedding, which is celebrated by drinking a good amount of chicha, the young man sleeps with the girl (345).

Ce 585

345. Nord. 1, pp. 211 and 212.

C
Ce 595 643 622 While young men have but one wife, older men, and particularly caciques, often have several wives. Thus the substitute great cacique on the Itiyuru had four wives, who lived in different towns, and the cacique Maringay had two wives, who lived together (346). Marriage between brother and sister is prohibited,

C
Ce 582

346. Nord. 1, pp. 212 and 213.

while cousins may marry (347).

347. Nord. 1, p. 212.

Ce 843 Certain foods are forbidden to the pregnant woman. Thus, among the Chané on the Itiyuru a pregnant woman cannot eat

Ce [461] doves. But they do their work until they give birth (348). After

Ce 846

348. Nord. 1, p. 206.

a child has been born, the man must go through the "couvade," which means that he must remain lying down for several days and must stay on a certain diet. Among the Chané on the Parapití [illegible] for the first few days he may eat only cooked maize and maize soup,